HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

Shape Of Things To Come: A bright horizon of good business prospects and expectations of GOP political success next fall conceals two spectres of the greatest danger to America — as some Republican conservatives, who know what goes on behind the scenes, view the situation. The two spectres are appeasement of Red China and surrender of our sovereignty to internationalism. These two, say insiders, are already beginning to close in, and here follow the facts:

(1) The first step, as arranged by the White House Palace Guard, is the naming of Paul Hoffman (of Fund for the Republic fame) and Dean Rusk, ex-aide to Secretary of State Dean Acheson, as representatives to the UN conference scheduled to meet in November after the election. (Once the election is over, the liberals calculate, real appeasement can be accomplished safely without too much public reaction.) Hoffman and Rusk are regarded as favorable to the admission of Red China to the UN. After the election, the twain will bow their heads, in simulated reluctance, when the friends of Red China in the UN insist on giving the Peiping government a seat in the Assembly. Senate GOP leaders, apprised of this scheme, have tried to prevail on the White House to drop the plan for naming Hoffman and Rusk, but so far have not succeeded.

(2) The much publicized proposal to expand NATO to make it a political and economic as well as military organization, was first appraised as merely a new method to give away more U.S. dollars abroad. But now — after close scrutiny — it is coming to be regarded as a means to draw the U.S. into some form of world government and to surrender our sovereignty. Thus, if plans of the White House Palace Guard mature, an "expanded NATO" would turn out to be "Atlantic Union," Clarence Streit's proposed international organization, as a preliminary to global government.

Members of Congress who are in a position to know say that Dr. Milton Eisenhower, whose "one world" proclivities are well known, is strongly backing these blueprints for American surrender to international organization.

Revelation of this scheme comes as no great surprise to HUMAN EVENTS which on December 22, 1954, warned that a plan was under way "to have NATO take on the duties of coordinating the economic and political activities of member nations, as well as the military activities, and to do this work, it is proposed that 'an Atlantic Assembly,' composed of members of the legislatures of NATO members, be created. Experts point out that adding economic and political power to NATO, in the way urged, is simply a proposal to convert NATO into an international government, or 'Union Now.'"

MAY 1956

Politics: Ex-Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia, outstanding opponent of foreign aid, wins out over Senator George for the latter's seat — that's the way some observers here summarize the announcement of the retirement of the aging legislator. For months, George had been beating the bushes in his own state to see if he could defeat Talmadge; in the course of these months, he had increasingly compromised his previous internationalist position, coming closer and closer to "Hummon's" strong stand against foreign aid. But, finally recognizing that the latter had the support of most of the voters, the Senator "threw in the sponge"; Talmadge was obviously too strong for him to tackle. The ironic aftermath is that George indicates he will take a position as the President's personal representative to save the decrepit NATO organization. George was the man who reportedly persuaded President Eisenhower to hold the disastrous "summit" conference in Geneva last summer. (See "Judgment on Geneva" item, below.)

On The Bench: Senator George A. Smathers (D., Fla.) has won wide praise for his proposal of April 29, namely: Congress should pass a law requiring that all future appointees to the Supreme

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Court have at least five years of prior experience on the bench. The Court, says Smathers, "should not be a refuge for appointees drawn from the ranks of politicians, professors or friends of the influential. The Court should be reserved for judges." In the Capital, where a close, realistic view of the "nine old men" is possible, many lawyers say "hear, hear" to Smathers' proposal. The Smathers' proposal has no little significance as another sign of the mounting dissatisfaction with the Judiciary and its pretentions.

● "Impudent" is one word used on Capitol Hill to describe the injunction so surprisingly granted by Federal Judge Wilkin against the publication and distribution of a congressional report on Communism. Wilkin intervened in behalf of a leftist group so described in the publication. Senator Carl Hayden (D., Ariz.), Chairman of the Committee on Printing, cracked down on the "impudent" invasion of congressional rights by the Judiciary and ordered the Public Printer to proceed with the printing of the publication and disregard as unconstitutional the processes of any court. "If a court can enjoin Congress from issuing a report," said Hayden, "it will only be a matter of time before our remarks on the floor of the Senate or House of Representatives would be subject to judicial review, and a complete breakdown of the constitutional principle of separation of powers would ensue."

Judgment On Geneva: Balloons for a visit by Russian leaders to the United States, set afloat by American "liberals," were deflated on Capitol Hill in the past week, as a result of release of a bipartisan congressional committee report. This House report severely condemns President Eisenhower's "summit conference" of last August saying that it "seriously weakened anti-Communist sentiment in the Middle East and Southern Asia" areas. The committee covered 24 countries on its trip and spoke authoritatively on sentiment in territories between Greece and Japan. The feeling in many lands, said the Members of Congress, is that it is "senseless for them to resist Communists if the West is going to accept the Communists into respectable society as at Geneva."

The report states that many in the countries they visited "were shaken" by the American inclination to "strive for friendly intercourse with the Communists." The congressional committee also said that "the sweetness and light campaign reflected in friendly pronouncements by Americans, in the exchanges of visitors between the United States and the Soviet Union, and in other ways, tended to weaken the anti-Communist resolve of the peoples of the Middle East, Southeast Asia and the Far East."

Tax Front: The hammer blow struck against the present tax system by former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews has brought response in the form of legislative action. Andrews called for a Hoover-type-commission to study the whole tax question. In the past week, two members of Congress have moved to implement Andrews' demand. GOP Senator John Marshall Butler (now waging a gallant fight for re-election in Maryland) announced last weekend that he will propose that the Senate set up a commission to examine the tax question and at the same time indicated his agreement with T. Coleman Andrews on this matter. Likewise, Representative Frederic Coudert (R., N.Y.) introduced a bill to create a Commission on Federal Taxation, to be modeled after the Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization.

Labor In Politics: In reply to Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler's offer to "publicly apologize" to Senator Goldwater if the Senator could prove his contention that "compulsory union dues are used for political parties and candidates," the Arizona GOP Senator has sent the following evidence to Butler:

Gus Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council and chairman of the Michigan Political Action Committee (PAC), told a reporter for the Detroit *Free Press* on April 24, 1955, that the PAC was being financed by "dues money allocated by local unions."

Fay Calkins, analyst for the AFL-CIO, gives several examples in her book *The CIO and the Democratic Party*. On page 45, she notes that over half of the money spent by the PAC in Ohio's 18th Congressional District came "from a monthly per capita tax on locals."

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO Auto Workers, told the Detroit *Free Press*, July 7, 1955, that "the union makes no bones about the fact that payment for radio and television programs con-

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taining campaign politics came from the UAW general funds." Mazey filed an audit report for the UAW-CIO, for the period of June 1, 1950 to May 31, 1951, showing that the PAC received $120,434.56 out of union general funds. For the six-month period ending November 30, 1952, the PAC received $66,086.41, also from union general funds. For the year ending December 31, 1954, PAC expenses disbursed from the union general fund amounted to $384,443.33. Mr. Mazey's reports are only for this single International union and do not include the funds diverted from other Internationals or from local, county and state union treasuries into political activities.

The financial statement of Ford Local 600 of the UAW-CIO, dated October 9, 1955, signed by W. G. Grant, financial secretary, shows that the Wayne County CIO Council endorsed John Dingell, Jr. in the Democratic primary election of Michigan's 15th Congressional District. The report reads: "Approval is requested of the Council for concurrence in the above endorsement and also to authorize the Local officers, *in line with past procedure*, to incur and pay expenses in connection with said election."

The then director of Labor's League for Political Education, Joseph D. Keenan, was quoted in the January, 1950, issue of *The American Federationist*, official publication of the American Federation of Labor at that time, as saying, "I have been asked by many local union officers whether any local funds can be voted out of the treasury for political work. The answer is *yes* — so long as none of that money is used for a national candidate such as Congressman or President. You can use union funds or assessments to help local and state candidates (in most states)."

"This construction," said Goldwater, "places the sole emphasis on legal interpretation. Nowhere in it is there any concern for the problem of using compulsory union dues in politics as a moral or civil rights problem. LLPE Director Keenan would seem to be indifferent to the civil rights question involved in taking the compulsory dues of a union member and using them to pay the campaign expenses of a candidate whom he personally votes against, thereby nullifying his vote and creating a Second Class Citizen."

The Senator concludes his letter to Butler: "Upon examination of this sampling of the available proof, I hope you will avail yourself of the earliest opportunity to clear up the record by making your public apology as you agreed to do on May 1."

On April 30, in Fort Worth, Governor Allen Shivers charged that organized labor was sending "large sums of money into Texas in an effort to capture control of the state's Democratic party." Shivers said he had photographic copies of deposit slips showing that money had been received by the Rio Grande Valley Democratic Club from the AFL and from "Walter Reuther's CIO."

TRUMAN'S OPINION OF "THE TRUMAN SCANDALS"

Here is Harry Truman's own opinion of the highly important Jules Abels' book, *The Truman Scandals*: "It is probably one of the most comprehensive collections of bold lies and calculated misrepresentation of facts to appear since the opposition party initiated its efforts to discredit the important achievements of the Democratic party."

The former President generalizes that the book is full of "bold lies." But, it is noticeable that he is not specific in his charge. If he became specific, the issue of veracity could be tested. This book is full of FACTS — nearly all of them documented testimony before courts and congressional hearings.

Because of the recent sharp rise in printing costs, the book store price of *The Truman Scandals* has been raised to $4, but you can still buy it for $3.75 from HUMAN EVENTS. In addition, with each book purchased now, we will give a 10-week subscription to HUMAN EVENTS. You can extend your own subscription by 10 weeks for each book purchased or — still better — send gift subscriptions to persons who will be grateful to you for putting them in touch with HUMAN EVENTS.

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Liberal Ladies: Internationalism and Fair Dealism again have carried the day in the 22nd biennial national convention of the League of Women Voters (whose "liberal" proclivities were discussed at length in "The Ladies Won't Knit" in HUMAN EVENTS for October 22, 1955).

The convention placed two items on the League's so-called "current agenda" — matters for intensive study and action. They were the Federal loyalty-security programs, and the nation's water resources.

On the basis of past performance, including sponsorship of the anti-anti-Communist Freedom Agenda program, with $111,000 of grants from the notorious Fund for the Republic, followers of League affairs feel no doubt that the studies of the loyalty-security programs will result in a conclusion that they are unjust and unwarranted; the action will be to seek their elimination.

The water resources study-action program may sound innocent, but again on the basis of past per-

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formance the unanimous expectation is that they will result in drives for further basin development plans, *al la* TVA. These lady voters long have exhibited a distinctly partial yen for TVA socialism.

In deciding on its "Current Agenda," the convention voted down a third proposal for this same category — promotion of international economic development and international economic assistance. The reason cited for the rejection was that three such projects would place too much of a work load on members.

But when the ladies discovered that the action was being interpreted as a retreat from the League's traditional internationalism, they scurried the next day to adopt a set of resolutions intended to rectify any such impression. They put the League on record as reaffirming its support of the United Nations, opposing the Dirksen substitute for the Bricker amendment (or any other such proposal), and keeping the international economic development and assistance project on the list of objects supported by the League.

Perhaps significantly, the *New York Times* noted that while the support of the UN was voted unanimously, "a small number of votes was cast against the resolution opposing the Dirksen amendment."

The League already is facing rebellion in several local chapters because of its liberal-internationalism. The convention actions may fan the revolt.

Cannon Relief: Three weeks ago, the *American Weekly* magazine published an article by former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews attacking the income tax law and calling for a complete revision of the entire Federal tax structure. In the body of the article was a reference to an unidentified Member of Congress who, finding himself in tax troubles, obtained passage of a bill relieving himself of the threatened tax liability.

Curious reporters now find evidence that the Representative, given no name by Andrews, was Clarence Cannon of Mo., Democratic Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and, by virtue of having been a member since 1923, fourth ranking member of the House in terms of service.

In 1950, Cannon and his wife set up the Cannon Foundation with an initial donation of $5,000, its charter setting forth its aims to be aiding certain churches, fraternal orders and other charitable projects in their home town of Elsberry, Mo.

In due course, Cannon filed his income tax return for 1950, listing the $5,000 as a charitable contribution deduction. In further due course, however, the Internal Revenue service discovered that this figure exceeded 15 per cent of his income, the maximum then allowed for such deductions. Ultimately, it decided Cannon owed additional taxes.

But therein is the advantage in being a Member of Congress. The *Congressional Record* for July 30, 1955, shows identical bills introduced by Representatives Thomas B. Curtis and Frank Karsten, both Missouri Democrats, entitled, "A Bill to provide tax relief to a charitable foundation and the contributors thereto."

They were referred to the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee. But the *Record* for August 1, page 10958, shows the bills being re-referred to the Judiciary Committee; page 10959 shows Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler of New York obtaining unanimous consent for passage of the Curtis Bill. The text of the bill, printed in this connection, specifically names the Cannon Foundation "and contributors thereto" as the sole objects of the tax relief.

The bill was passed by the Senate, the *Record* shows, on August 2, under the guidance of another Missouri Democrat, Senator Stuart Symington.

Cannon is known in the House Press Gallery as a preacher of governmental economy and a voter for big spending. He also is known as a constant critic of what he calls "special interests."

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Article Section

STALIN'S GHOST AS SCAPEGOAT

By EUGENE LYONS

ANY ATTEMPT to understand the sensational purge of Stalin's ghost, its causes and its implications for the future, must begin with a grasp of the enormity of the action.

The new Soviet dictators have only the prestige of their regime and its ruling party to give a semblance of legitimacy to their rule. Yet their indictment of the Stalin period is the kind that a victorious opposition, rather than legal successors, normally makes. Khrushchev and his associates have deliberately blackened and disowned a quarter of a century of the history of both party and regime, the whole of their heritage.

This they have done in full awareness that every accusation against Stalin is a confession of their own complicity in error and crime. They knew that their obvious guilt by association would far outweigh the pretense of innocence by dissociation. The only alibi the chieftains of a militant revolutionary movement could muster was abject fear of their master and patron. The humiliation must rankle — this is probably the first time in history that a group of rulers pleads cowardice as its warrant for leadership of a great empire.

In branding Stalin as a depraved blunderer and mass murderer, his heirs acknowledge the truth of the worst "slanders," through the years, by "enemies of the people" at home and anti-Communists abroad. They cancel out 25 years of indoctrination and planned education, along with all textbooks, encyclopaedias and official histories.

There are few families in Soviet Russia which have not suffered heavy casualties first in the purges and liquidations, then in the war. Now the survivors are being told that the terror was largely unjustified and that much of the death and destruction in the war derived from Stalin's stubborn blunders. The long decades of suffering and sacrifice are thus turned into a macabre mockery. In stripping Stalin of glory and conceding their own corruptions, the successors have provided deadly ammunition for opponents abroad and, more important, at home. They destroy the last illusions of the Kremlin's honor, veracity and infallibility.

SUCH IS the magnitude of their action. To explain it in terms of clever tactics is therefore absurd. Khrushchev and company would not have besmirched the Stalin period in which they are rooted merely to placate Tito, or to improve relations with neutralist countries, or to promote united fronts with left-wingers, or even to raise the productivity of Soviet economy. Such considerations seem trivial when appraised in relation to the risks and humiliations involved.

The new oligarchs are, after all, the cream of the crop of Stalinist tough boys, trained and hardened to yield only to insuperable force. Clearly the repudiation of Stalin must have been an act of desperation, forced upon them by terrific and irresistible pressures.

It was "no easy question," one of the "collective leaders," Lazar Kaganovich, said at the 20th Party Congress. For three years, the inheritors blew hot and cold on Stalin. Times when he was played down or ignored were followed by sudden renewals of ritual eulogies. The *coup de grace* was delivered after long delay and with heavy hearts — recall Khrushchev's tears and the fainting delegates — under compulsions that ruled out half-measures. Neither the "downgrading" of Stalin — the attempt to let his halo fade out — nor the execution of Beria as the terror-symbol, had sufficed.

Foreign analysts seem agreed that the anti-Stalin drive somehow clears the road to united fronts and facilitates the wooing of neutralist

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and uncommitted nations. But this assumption is a shallow fallacy. Actually the admission of frauds, frame-ups, anti-Semitism and the rest, all on a horrifying scale, shears the last shreds of "idealistic" pretensions from the Kremlin. It makes Stalin's long-time collaborators not more but less attractive as partners and comrades.

Pious talk of "excesses" and promises to behave more decently hereafter would have been enough for the Nennis, Corliss Lamonts and Bevans of the world. The Kremlin's problem is to win over socialist parties and uncommitted liberals — but these must be embarrassed and even revolted by the strip-tease revealing Soviet reality in all its moral nakedness. The cool reception Khrushchev and Bulganin met in England, especially in Labor circles, very likely was influenced by official Soviet confirmation that the worst suspicions about the Kremlin are quite true.

NATURALLY, the Soviet leaders will try to exploit their break with Stalin to gain some advantages abroad. But those who seek clues to the smearing of Stalin in Moscow's foreign affairs are, in this writer's view, on the wrong track. These will be by-products of a decision forced upon them by deep ferments inside their own country.

Only pressures menacing the very life of the dictatorship could explain the reluctant decision to jettison Stalin. The angers and despairs, always boiling under the artificial calm of a police state, threatened to break through to the surface. Anti-Kremlin sentiment has always been rife in the Soviet land, as witnessed by the maintenance of a colossal apparatus of surveillance and repression, the endless purging, the inhuman security laws and censorships. That sentiment must have reached explosive dimensions to force the rulers to offer Stalin himself as scapegoat.

Clearly the "collective leadership" found itself in deep trouble. We can only speculate, though with a large measure of assurance, where the pressures came from:

1. The Army. In the last war the armed forces and their commanders reaped the blame for terrible defeats, while Stalin hogged the credit for the ultimate victories. The ghastly slaughter of the flower of the officers' corps left wounds that would not heal. Moreover, the millions of conscripts — drawn from the general population, most of them sons of the badgered peasants — have always mirrored the moods of the populace. In the early 1930's, for instance, it was primarily grumbling in the ranks of the army that finally forced the Kremlin to call a halt to collectivization terror.

After Stalin's demise, his successors moved swiftly to conciliate the armed forces. The elevation of Marshal Zhukov was to signalize the change. But evidently a lot more drastic measures were required. The first of the major Stalin atrocities spread on the record at the 20th Congress was the murder of 5,000 officers in the Tukhachevsky purge. (In truth, several times that number perished.) The myth of Stalin's military genius was deflated with unsparing irony; the blame for inadequate preparedness and shattering losses in the war was laid squarely at the Kremlin's door; *Pravda,* on March 28, underlined the harm done by the Stalin cult to "works of art and literature devoted to military topics."

2. The Communist Party. Restiveness in the ruling party itself unquestionably entered into the complex of pressures. In the Stalin era, the party was reduced to awed silence and utter impotence; its supposed policy-making organs became rubber-stamps for one man's arbitrary will. In ratio to their numbers, Communists had more purge victims than any other segment of the citizenry. Though despised by the masses as the instruments of their ordeal, party members and secondary leaders alike felt themselves no less oppressed than non-party neighbors.

Moreover, at least the more self-respecting among them were distressed by hypocrisy and mass murder. They winced as the traditions and revolutionary *mystique* of their party were dirtied and bloodied, as its founding fathers were reduced to the status of foreign spies.

A recent Warsaw broadcast in connection with the anti-Stalin campaign exclaimed: "How monstrous and pathological must the thoughts of a person have been who could have imagined that many members of the Central Committee,

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most of them Old Bolsheviks, could have been enemies or imperialist agents!" Late in the day, it was voicing the despair of myriad Communists compelled to believe just such monstrous nonsense.

It is significant that the denigration of Stalin is coupled with fulsome pledges of some inner-party democracy and restoration of the original powers of the Central Committee and other party agencies. No less significant is the fact that the first people to take advantage of the new dispensation seem to be Communists. Already *Pravda* has several times threatened "rotten elements" in the party, who allegedly are exploiting the anti-Stalin campaign to launch "anti-party views." If ever there is an uprising against the regime, it will not be astonishing to find dissident Communists in its forefront. Better than most of their countrymen, they know the extent of the Kremlin's corruption and inhumanity.

3. The Technical Intelligentsia. The Soviet industrial super-trust is increasingly dependent upon its engineers, scientists, managers and bureaucrats. Though educated along narrow technical lines, their intellectual growth could not be wholly prevented. Education has given them access to dangerous ideas despite censorships.

Materially this new class is well rewarded, but on terms that are galling to many if not most of them. They have seen scores of thousands of their colleagues dragged off to prison camps or execution cellars, and do not know when their own turn is coming. They represent the paradox of a privileged elite which is at the same time insecure and suspected. A curb on terror — the terror so long personified by Stalin — is surely intended to assuage the fears and win the allegiance of this group.

4. Youth. Former inmates of Soviet concentration camps now in the West are unanimous in reporting that the average age of inmates is well below 30. The great majority of some half million Soviet citizens who, at the war's end, refused to go back to their homeland, were young people. Now, as in Russia's past, "idealistic" university students are a thorn in the flesh of the rulers; the incidence of arrests has normally been much larger on the campus than in the population at large. Even the muffled reports of the riots in Tiflis and other areas made it clear that the leading role was played by students.

Youth's immemorial hatred of injustice has reasserted itself in terrorized Russia. The spread of what we would call juvenile delinquency, about which the Soviet press is frankly alarmed, is not without political overtones. The cutting of classes (in political indoctrination courses especially), the refusal to work, drunkenness and mischief are primitive protests against the boredom and drabness and insecurity of Soviet existence.

In the early period of the Russian Revolution, its glowing promises fired the imagination of young people. This spring feeling dies hard. It flared anew, as this writer saw, under the impact of bold slogans of industrialization and a happy life to come in the early 1930's. But thereafter youthful ardor was rapidly eroded by Stalin's ruthlessness and contempt for life. Factories and electric stations are not enough to feed the hungers of the soul-searching minority that has always set the pace for Russia's youth.

Recently the head of the Komsomol (Communist Youth) organization, Shepilov, held forth on the need to revive the old fervors of the young. "The spirit of revolutionary romance and the spirit of pride in the great deeds of old generations of revolutionaries," he said, "are being lost in Komsomol and Pioneer Youth work." He was offering a more plausible explanation of the attack on the dead despot, and the rehabilitation of some of the victims, than any of the guesses of foreign experts.

THESE groupings, of course, overlap and intermesh. Nearly all officers of the armed forces and large portions of the new managerial elite are also party members. The grumblings of youth are echoed in the armed forces and in the party's auxiliary, the Komsomol. Vast discontents in the mass of the Soviet humanity, especially acute in the peasantry — still half of the population — provide the background for the more focused rebelliousness in the groups

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listed above. There is a prevailing unease, a sullen fed-up mood, among the common people. All of this adds up to a smoldering opposition, vague and inchoate as yet, but one which the new masters could no longer ignore. They live under the fear that it may suddenly flare into flame.

The dethronement of Stalin has more to do with the slave revolts in Vorkuta and other forced-labor regions than with Geneva or Belgrade or New Delhi. The riots in Soviet Georgia and elsewhere, in which at least 100 were killed, were explosions of long pent-up indignations.

Interviewed by a *New York Times* correspondent, the rector of the Tiflis State University, Victor Kupradze, remarked that in the 1930 purges, Georgia had suffered more than any other Soviet republic. He blamed the disturbances on "dark elements" composed of "former students, relatives of liquidated kulaks and liberated victims of the 1937 purges." But why would such persons risk their freedom and their lives to shield the reputation of the Great Purger and Liquidator? It makes no sense. The pretext for the demonstrations was illogical, but the motivating angers were all too genuine. The demonstrators were not so much defending Stalin as attacking his cynical henchmen and successors.

The important and encouraging fact is that four decades of police terror have not destroyed the capacity of Kremlin subjects for protest, and that the lead was taken by students who could have no memory of the pre-Soviet past.

Apparently a real measure of relaxation is today being allowed in the USSR, to underline the retreat from Stalinism. The milder political climate can be expected to break up the icepacks of fear. More and more millions, who only sighed and groaned, will find the courage to articulate their griefs and despairs. Already ordinary people, one reporter has cabled, are speaking "far more freely than they used to."

How far will this process go? Even a little freedom can be intoxicating. The oligarchs will become increasingly scared by the evidences of the intensity of popular hatreds of their regime and can be expected to resort again to the only medicines they know — purge, liquidation, shootings. The old-style threats against "unstable elements" in the ruling party, so soon after the renunciation of Stalin, are straws in the wind. The supposed break with the Stalinist terror is likely to prove the prelude to a new terror.

But the pressures which compelled his successors to disown their Stalinist heritage will remain to plague them. What the present bosses need most in this, their troubled hour, is prestige and acceptance abroad to bolster their positions at home. And the free world, alas, is providing these things in heaping measure. We fraternize with the Khrushchevs, Bulganins, Mikoyans and their assorted delegations and missions. We confuse their military might with political strength *vis-a-vis* their own people.

By every test of common sense we should act today to undermine the legitimacy of the new leaders, to emphasize their deep complicity in Stalin's crimes, to make clear our detestation of the whole Soviet nightmare and our understanding sympathy for the Kremlin's domestic enemies.

Instead we are doing the very opposite — receiving the hierarchs as honored guests, enlarging trade with them, underrating the Soviet people whom the dictators hoped to propitiate with a supreme scapegoat. A civilization not merely willing but eager to coexist with evil openly dedicated to its destruction has lost its will to survive. Should it be saved, notwithstanding, it will be despite its own apathy and blindness, through developments within the Communist empire.

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Eugene Lyons is the author of *The Red Decade* and other books on Communism. Former Editor of the *American Mercury,* he is at present a senior editor of the *Reader's Digest.* He has contributed many articles to HUMAN EVENTS, his last being "Innocents Abroad in Red Russia," on February 25, 1956.

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